1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ore oji 'E-gamisini tentyeig E-mutigi, nelabo 'l-kilikae 'n-giri.

whilst the Gamisini are chosen if they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades. 554

E-murata oo-'n-doye.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten eiyioni neiyani 'ndoiye oo-'l-Masasa, oemurati.

When Masai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. 88 [382]

Ore eng-ololig eamurati, ateyelgi ol-kerr arabi ol-iseig, eji Ol-ollepukusiaki, ana too-'l-eyuk.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called The (animal) which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Nemurati ainje ti-ata eji-Ras, ten eishir, nemuat en-nutia.

Women are operated upon indoors, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Kepike ainje 'l-dyiranaa 'n-eyuk, el-murianat aka oika.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a wreath made from the leaves of the *Hyphaena* (or doum) palm, or of grass, is donned. [231] [278]

Ore ten eishir, neiyan.

When they recover, they are married. [382]

E-muoto.

The feast called E-muoto or the selection of a chief[1]. 622 574

Ten eiyio 'l-murran nani, neiyeo enkiyo ailguro Ol-oonini, na el-tuiguni tata nanyo na kiyoinyo ailoro, nania 'n-giliai, nelio ne-olig tae el-tuiguni, nemeliunyingo-nyuk e-nanyo na kiyoinyo, nemania 'ng-oiyuk puai[2].

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called Ol-oonini, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore po etum, nemiki;

When they succeed in getting such

[1] A senior warrior (Ol-oonini) is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and he is responsible to the chief mentioned above for their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or maltreated by his companions.

[2] Puai (pl. puat) means the colour of a morgan or bike.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neali 'l-kilasi le-'Iguntyoni, naishop, naibori en-ḥukuri nariyakino 'aghera 'matwan pikin. Naitasapi eng-oriolig, nariki eng-alig o-'l-mdoro lenya, nerubare el-mdoro, oo 'l-tuligonak nare 'l-chorusta lenyuna, oo 'n-gitonk are o-'ng-alig o-'Iguntyoni.

Nemeityo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe chaiki, naibori en-gorai, naiitti.

Ten eiyam el-mdoro o-'Iguntyoni, nemeipot eng-erua enye, ana torum. Eidalgiki ae-erua. Enyor naiolig aipotyo eng-erua o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'K-ne-'Ibore.

Ten eata el-tuligani en-'l-Maasai 'n-gitoi kumok, naidim eiyuna 'Iguntyok kumok. Eiti kuliake eeiyam 'Iguntyok are, ana uni, ana ologwua; kake eiyam il-kerai, ten eiyie, tenom ana tigitim.

Ten eiyam el-Maasai kat'-ere arabi kat'-uni, naisho en-gitok enye eng-aini el-nabo, ten eiyo eimaiyo eng-aini ejo Pasaho.

Naidim il-Maasai eiyuna 'Iguntyok o-'ng-aji enye ten eimi to-'l-nabo tho, kake aidim eiyuna 'Iguntyok o-'n-gidoitoni enye, naidim eiyuna 'Iguntyok o-'ng-ae-kiokitoni.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the fleure age. 551 573 977 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Pasaho, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 951

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the warriors with milk. This seems to be the feast that MERKER refers to as " the feast of the circumcised boys – *ol ogw lel aijak emurate* ". The newly circumcised remain in his mother's house until the wound is healed. [371 (374)]

c) At this stage all the newly circumcised assemble from the various villages; they form small bands and go around shooting at small birds with special small bows and arrows. They wear women's clothes, women's ear-decorations (used also by elders) and a special headdress to which they append the birds they kill. During this period they are called *ee eibolio*, pl. *i-eibolio* – the recluse, and are under strict regulations: At evening they must return home and enter the village before the cattle. They must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with their hands. They must not wash. They must avoid girls. They must not fight with, or be struck by, any other: if this happens, milk must be put on their heads. They must not go out in the daytime without their special headdress.

The period of segregation may last for some months. At the end by order of the elders they are shaved by their mothers (hence they are called the shaved ones – *ol barnoti* pl. *il barnot*) and presented by their fathers with the arms of the warriors, a *spear*, a sword and a shield. It is a peculiar distinction of the initiates to [302] let their hair grow and to twist it into a pigtail of which they are very proud. [302] At this later stage the initiates will be called *ol murani*, pl. *il murran*, i. e. those who have been circumcised.

It is generally stated, and apparently even by the Masai themselves, that as soon as a youth is circumcised he becomes a man. The evidence shows clearly that the expression " becomes a man " does not describe the real social status of a newly circumcised. Even if the statement is taken to mean that through circumcision a boy has attained the status of a man, and therefore is entitled to full participation in Masai social life, the statement is at variance with the evidence. As a matter of fact no Masai is allowed to marry soon after circumcision. In order to marry he must be at least a *senior* initiate, i. e. a member of the senior age-unit. [303] A newly circumcised (i. e. a *junior*, and to some extent also a *senior* initiate) may [372] 561

[302] On this particular custom, cfr. MERKER, l. c., p. 148; HOLLIS, in *J. R. Anth. I.*, 1905, v. 35, pp. 39 ss.

[303] The seniority of the age units is discussed in the next paragraph. With reference to the text above we note that even when a senior initiate marries, he is not allowed to beget children, as this is the privilege of the elders. See below, where LOOGOOT and PAS are cited.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

"I say, thou art no longer *el moran* (a circumcised, a warrior), but *el meuo* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warrior thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as *el moran*; each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognized" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

A very detailed description of "the *upskere of milk*" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[100] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[101] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*earwipa*) on him.[102]

A test follows, in which the candidate is reported to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at the

[100] FOX, l. c., p. 468.

[101] He says also that "*the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the B-mote owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible*".

[102] These *ear-rings, earwipa*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's *ear-rings or decorations*. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a female type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

It is possible to consider that solidarity as a kind of class identity. This identity does not exclude the possible variations and differentiations of class-members arising from individual differentiations of talents and character, from leadership, seniority and social prestige attached to the possession of a great number of wives and a large herd of cattle. The main expressions of that identity are the use of a single name for the whole class and some special marriage regulations which apply to class members and, to some extent, to their children.

Thus, a man may not marry the daughter of a member of his own class. If he fornicates with her he is punished by his own age-mates. " His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered ". Similarly, " if a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade (or class), he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade ". (HOLLIS). Furthermore, any class member when a guest of any of his age-mates, has a right to cohabit with his host's wife. KRAPF, says that a widow " must not re-marry but she must live with the members of her deceased husband's class ". This " sexual communism ", as HOLLIS calls it, takes place only among members of the same class. It is limited, of course, by clan and kinship exogamy, which, even for class members, is strictly enforced.

At the performance of the *Eunkolomi*, *Eopikata*, *Unoto*, *Ngokuo* names are given to sets instituted. Names assumed at the *Eunkolomi*, *Eopikata*, and *Unoto* are temporary, for temporary is the nature of the set thus established. At the *Ngokuo* ceremony all previous names are discarded for a single name which is final and applies to the age-class as a whole. It is this name which is handed down to the following generations. Age-class names are, as it were, the milestones by which Masai can order their past into a certain historical perspective. Class names are thus recalled when historical facts are recounted.

Lists of class-names have been recorded by our authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here some of those lists collected by KRAPF, FOX, and FONTAINIER.[1] FONTAINIER has attempted

has been shown them, he will come out. When he has crossed, the owner of the hut leaves him and goes to search for a place to sleep in... A Masai cannot refuse hospitality to a stranger (of his own age) for he is afraid that the other members of his age will come too, and he will die ".

[1] KRAPF, l. c., p. 288; FOX, l. c., pp. 438, 439; FONTAINIER, l. c., pp. 10 s.

Jc Rollins G-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1910 F142 Maori F142

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle finds anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *tō'ngani*, *tō'ke hapu'ngani*, etc. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. These relations have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ti-ngwinani*) and take anything he can account in large and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is necessary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ti-ngwinani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and no payment receives how one of many pair of twin goats here.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on women side, *ahi'ahiro* (or *ma-'ahiro*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry his son's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry his sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the son's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These rules are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clans. The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with unmarried girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No man may select as his

[1] The Maori are divided into two class - *B-tiaki*, *B-Ihingarua*, *B-kahuwai*, *B-Ihingiwi*, and *B-Parkura*. Each class is again divided into sub-classes, e.g. the *B-tiaki* people amongst others the following: *B-ngatiwi* and *B-Parkura*. No man belonging to the *B-tiaki* sub-class may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-class, but he may marry the daughter of the *B-Parkura* or he may marry a daughter of the *B-Ihingarua*, *B-Kahuwai*, *B-Ihingiwi*, or *B-Parkura* sub-class. Members of the sub-sub-classes are counted as to descent in one direction only, thus marriages are not allowed by grandfather's relationships, and a man has the same (with) married relations to all the sub-divisions as to him in the very same sub-division.

In the above table, *The Marriage of the B-tiaki and also Ihingarua Tribe* [illegible], 1903, further states (p. 10) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Maori are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the class are not exogamous, the sub-class are (that the class are divided into exogamous), and (2) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the issues of relation could not trace relation and ancestress.

Sr Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(d) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

Until the matter of the murder has been settled in any of the above ways, or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of class or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

En-gorei: Parricide or Fratricide

If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle brands, see *The Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

9:Foskrooke C-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kisonko

also by traditions just in the Kimongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loitokitok are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purko of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of these sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend, some are dissidents detained by family matters, others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seeing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled, pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the leaves or olaitumu, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the exotic; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngokuro ceremony — economic duties of Warriors — eldorhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He leaves beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngokuro ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

The final step between warrior and elderhood is taken at the ngokuro or olngesher ceremony. Just as the Kaloneyoke ceremony of ondotoset starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kimongo ngokuro closes it throughout Maasiland. It is traditionally held at Olkenyo ne 'Imorusk (the hill of the Elders), Upper Kenya, Ntulo District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, denoting entrance to elderhood. A single official, olkiteng'anyiki, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own leaders or ceremonial leader.

[§3] attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
[§4] are life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that [§34] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

[§41] *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual [§42] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

[§43] *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is married away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (see Wastefulness). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

[§47] *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient. This is the only method used.

[§49] *Penalty for Conception.*—If an unmarried girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (as before [illegible] would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. He only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father. If [illegible] be has prevented the father

from having the honour of the host of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this latter is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and ceases to have any intercourse with the members of boys. Except under circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a manyatta with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the manyatta, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A man called *olokiyoita* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "man for circumcising," and is supposed to insure fertility. This man is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleanse her of the blood right" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olmigwai*. Next a ram is killed called *olchikorai* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkerai*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (see below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days. 334 462 252

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders. 721 [682] [997]

Part X.—Miscellaneous Notes.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks. 372

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (see Raiding, above). 682

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobbo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith. 326 564 [523]

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough, hairy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobbo girls may be married by Masai, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock. [594] [582] [563] [911] [912] [438]

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-U'nate*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'oiker*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 202) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law Mother-in-law Son-in-law Daughter-in-law	Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Masai*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masainí ainoti*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the kyrmaas, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] *See* p. 200 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Mssa: FL12

Betrothal

589 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's hand is announced with fat, and she may no longer live in the same hut as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him fat tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Partners, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

590 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (a) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 118); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Barker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tomlin, on the other hand, however, says that, though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group. Fedorenko agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (b) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[1] (*ol-ayil*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (c) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *e-kwenya* and *e-nyina*.

591 *Bridewealth*

Payment of bride-wealth establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative function and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Barker gives three or four cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a cow and ox to her mother (the ox also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; an account of the other ox (for men and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kiny*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two cows, which are slaughtered, and a cow, an account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-kiny* (sheep). Fedorenko gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kiny*" ox.

Marriage

592 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief ceremony is a feast at the bride's home, at which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to hold. 593 Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[2] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[1] Hollis, p. 45.

[2] Transgression between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of title, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

IR Meiko--17 C-4 (1880-ca.1919) 1919 FLIS Ibosi FLIS

/12 cont./

In connection with the somatic view of the Ibosi invasion, the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Ibosi, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.

Photo 2 (2 phot.

Ill. 1. Three Ibosi women.

Therefore they have closely kept the racial characteristics peculiar to the Ibosi people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on our expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual

[Ir. the Ibosi, Wakuafi and the Kamberebe -mixed.pet.]

/44 cont./

534 A betrothal to various childhood is not infrequent among the Ibiwoi, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and ensuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 30 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has thus obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called [illegible]. During the period of betrothal the couple do not sleep together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, as he can, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior (of [illegible]), [illegible] then as actual warrior (of another) [illegible] lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl becomes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed men marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her circumcision in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the curing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

for the contemplative closeness of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price [illegible] the things, each pair of them, [illegible] the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the [illegible] bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other [illegible] (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, II, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other [illegible] from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the two call each other [illegible]. From the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, hence the address [illegible], and from the smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address [illegible], or [illegible] is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several clove pots of honey, skins for clothing, and less wine for nothing [illegible] and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief [illegible] he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last misdeeds a few happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and lends her to him as a rope rotated out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of [illegible] himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/65 cont./

father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her memsrsi but as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El sengumee and El ulmadie do not know this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The Government's epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /67/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual instances there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[47 cont.]
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(of home) or to his age-class associates (cf. n47). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a man's younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, where the Masai are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between father brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Mwiwentlie and those of mwiliwentlie is not permitted.

Widows (cf. gulisi, 3 gulisi) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/154 cont./
a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it the end.

When the warriors of an el hoop notice that their bones are getting old and the el hoopar noiyam them is enough, they agree that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the el gerab i el hil, that is, an slaughtering with a ceremonies. To this all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and dresses it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of these present receives his share, while the remainder is hung on sticks two metres high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat accustomed to beatings. Then the younger men amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (seeqiin). Before there is thought of departure, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the best and make the following speech: 'el hoop, nogor' ka el merdhi kede k' el mâran, thare i ghelin inem, i gere inem, thare nelek, mâsin 'ninen el mâran, ida kede el mâran, nelein i dughin kede el mâran, ida kede el mâran': in translation I say, you are no longer el merdhi, but el mâran, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are el mâran, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are el mâran.

After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he sees warrior and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his companionsare married. Only then are they considered el mâran: each one builds his own kraal and receives clothing, ornaments, and beard of the warriors. He is now at the end of the reunion, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, seldom ever attaining a really advanced age.

/111 cont./

Serb and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for sure and known. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a Nimlenith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The services coming from Nimlenith families do not live up to the ordinary service levels, but in the entire Nimlenith service-level (el nenglen | el mafhen | el lemmen) and only with daughters of Nimlenithin. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other serfdom either, but alone, and certainly being slung, since they /111/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which does often enough to simply relieve every food down by the other serfdom. An other Nimmi does not marry the daughter of an el lemmi, just as the latter's are does not desire to marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised Nimlenith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the Nimlenithin is regarded as disgrace for any other Nimmi. It is believed that he will woman or lose his life mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. This despised the Nimlenithin are is shown by the fact that a Nimmi does not dare to pronounce the word "el lemmi" after the onset of darkness (1).

1. Nimm then once for people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el lemmen, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless I happened from time to time, and that also on the evening of December 31, 1981, when I was camped near a Tuareg settlement on the oasis southeast of Mhero. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a ram, whose ex, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Nimmi spoke me responsible for this accident. "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el lemmen last evening; we have so often told you this."

[illegible]

[illegible] devoted to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts, which are always [illegible] filled with dense smoke, and furthermore the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and health leads to the suckling of the baby, despite all its struggles and screams, with whole-cow quantities of butter. Soon, as well as stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in respecting the insect breeds, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, co-exclusively alone or ruling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Here lies this exception, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less extensive. Finally, the late age at which the men come into their first marriage is unfavorable for population increase. Until about the 30th or 35th year of life the latest belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after having [illegible]. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior booth, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil to which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite extensive restrictions, appears to us like a restrictive prostitution of the women. One can do this all the more since through this professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this law circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the blood exchange that is forced upon [illegible] the great livestock epidemics observed [illegible] only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by many examples how luxurious and refined immorality was one of the grounds for causing the decline of higher peoples. Here among the blacks, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

/the case./

to others. Slaves or fellahs and despised as agriculturists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock in the strictness of the rules and calls that is necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Wakuti still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose body structure, despite her attained capability to conceiving,is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil counsel new factors that have a wasting effect. The later circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Wakuti has fallen. A destructive race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuti this process was more rapid in their period. As also now as European administration pervasive[illegible] raiding expeditions to Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and various experience[illegible] in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Wakuti who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Wakuti naturally also share in the disadvantages that /this/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with an higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarism brings to the Wakuti, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their lived settlements again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

106

SA1 FY3 DW1 [AE4] [Y4A] [SA4] He may marry also he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his wives (if he wants) and his share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

SE.1 EJ4 [SA5] The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warriors' compounds and normally each warrior has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They talk so that usually that girl becomes the warrior's first wife.

GA1 [a] Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called kraals or (Swahili) manyattas. Each kraal consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Maasi clan. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences to which young livestock are kept. The centre of the village are normally temporary the space in the centre of the kraal each night for protection from the and from lagged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

SY1 When a Maasi marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

the forest. Griffiths (1948) gives a more complete description of the Banja and their history.

Agriculture

In parts of Western Nandiland where cultivation is possible, especially on the higher slopes, agriculture from other tribes are moving in and establishing small [illegible] of cultivated fields. The Kenei take some of their wives from surrounding tribes. Most of the agriculture are relatives of these wives and are therefore allowed to stay by the Kenei. The problem is particularly acute in the Nyo forest region, where most of the agriculture are Kikuyu.

13 Some cultivation could be carried on in appropriate places with no detrimental effect to the forest plants. However, the system as now practiced results in considerable erosion and substantial vegetation clearance through carrying and burning. Such cultivation, especially in the Nyo area, is carried out in the lower margins of the forests which are well-drained for cultivation. During the high rainfall years the agriculture move in, clear and farm. Two or three years later a dry year forces them to abandon the area. Rainfall is low enough that regrowth is slow while erosion is considerable.

21-Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Lee Music. SL12

A NEW EARTH

Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half of Wanaland, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the clearings created by innumerable others. Whole cirques of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were no more as dog-leaps and already cancelled and crossed by gully erosion. Other fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds further into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow trunks and elbow killed by fires rushed into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

And then there are 'encroachers': a chosen term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Mauland, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are numerous but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Mauland and Transmara. In recent years a good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for